

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

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CINCEUR

CINCLANT

CINCPAC

CINCUSAREUR

CINCUSNAVEUR

USNMR SHAPE

USIA WASHDC

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

USIA FOR IBS, IEE, IPS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, US

SUBJ: SOVIETS VOICE CONCERN ON RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.

1. SUMMARY. SOVIET CONCERN OVER SIGNS OF GROWING U.S. DISILLUSIONMENT WITH ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS BEING INCREASINGLY REFLECTED PUBLICLY. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF SOVIET STATEMENTS EMPHASIZE CONTINUED SOVIET COMMITMENT TO A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS THROUGH THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE--ALBEIT PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AS THEY DEFINE IT, WHICH INCLUDES THEIR RIGHT TO CARRY ON THE "IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE" AND TO CONTINUE THEIR SUPPORT OF "NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS". VIRTUALLY ALL STATEMENTS ALSO VOICE THE OPINION THAT THE MAJORITY VIEW IN THE U.S. STILL SUPPORTS IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. SOVIET DISQUIET APPEARS TO STEM FROM INDICATIONS THAT THE U.S. MAY SETTLE FOR "LIMITED DETENTE" WHICH WOULD ROB MOSCOW OF SOME OF THE BENEFITS IT HAD HOPED TO OBTAIN FROM CLOSER RELATIONS. AND SOVIET COMMENTATORS SEEM PARTICULARLY UNEASY OVER INDICATIONS THAT THE SOVIET CONNECTION WITH PORTUGAL AND VIETNAM MAY MAKE ANYTHING BEYOND A LIMITED IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE U.S. END SUMMARY.

2. IN A SPEECH APRIL 9 AT THE DINNER FOR THE YUGOSLAV PRIME MINISTER, KOSYGIN MADE AN APPARENT EFFORT TO EMPHASIZE LACK OF CONTROL OVER DEVELOPMENTS ON VIETNAM BY SAYING THAT "NO FORCE HAS YET BEEN CREATED" WHICH COULD HAVE STOPPED THE VICTORY OF THE "PATRIOTIC FORCES", BECAUSE IT IS A RESULT OF THE OBJECTIVE LAWS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

3. ON THE NATIONAL NEWS TV PROGRAM VREMYA ON APRIL 9, COMMENTATOR VALENTIN ZORIN NOTED THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM, PORTUGAL, AND ELSEWHERE ARE BEING USED IN THE U.S. TO QUESTION THE VALUE OF DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HE CITED SENATOR MANSFIELD TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PROBLEM LIES NOT WITH IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, BUT RATHER WITH U.S. POLICY, WHICH WAS CREATED TO DEAL WITH EARLY POST-WWII CONCERNS AND IS CONFIDENTIAL

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NO LONGER RELEVANT. TOMAS KOLESNICHENKO, COMMENTING IN PRAVDA APRIL 7, SAID THAT PART OF THE U.S. PRESS, "IN MOURNING" FOR ALLIES IN INDOCHINA, HAD DECLARED THAT DETENTE IS DEAD, AND IS CALLING FOR A REEXAMINATION OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE BEGINNINGS MADE IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. KOLESNICHENKO AND ZORIN BOTH ENDED THEIR COMMENTARIES WITH ASSURANCES THAT, IN THEIR OPINION, THE WEIGHT OF OPINION IN THE U.S. STILL FAVORED IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

4. THE LAD ARTICLE IN THE APRIL ISSUE OF THE USA INSTITUTE JOURNAL ATTACKS THE IDEA OF "LIMITED DETENTE", WHICH IT CLAIMS IS ADVOCATED BY OPPONENTS OF TRUE DETENTE IN THE U.S. THE AUTHOR, YU. F. OLYOSHCHUK, SAYS THAT PROPONENTS OF THIS IDEA ARE ATTEMPTING TO PREVENT ANY FURTHER EVOLUTION TOWARD COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO STATES. ADVOCATES OF THIS POLICY ATTEMPT, INTER ALIA, TO LIMIT ECONOMIC TIES, MAKING THE SOVIET UNION OUT AS AN UNRELIABLE TRADE PARTNER WHICH WOULD USE TRADE FOR POLITICAL GOALS. THIS GROUP IN THE U.S. ALSO MAINTAINS, OLYOSHCHUK WRITES, THAT CONTINUATION BY THE SOVIET UNION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH A DETENTE RELATIONSHIP. OLYOSHCHUK ARGUES THAT THIS IS NOT THE CASE; THAT THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IS SIMPLY A REFLECTION OF REAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SYSTEMS; AND THAT CEASING THE STRUGGLE WOULD IN ANY CASE MEAN GIVING UP "SOCIALIST FOREIGN POLICY" (I.E., SUPPORT FOR "PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS"), WHICH HE PORTRAYS AS OUT OF THE QUESTION. OLYOSHCHUK ENDS WITH A PLEA NOT TO DWELL ON THE UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS, BUT RATHER TO EMPHASIZE THE SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENTS ACHIEVED IN THEM.

5. OTHER COMMENTATORS CONTINUE TO MAKE THE POINT THAT THE SOVIET UNION'S SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS IS A BASIC ASPECT OF SOVIET POLICY, AND INDEED IS A CONSTITUENT PART OF THEIR DEFINITION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. N. LEBEDYEV (PROBABLY A PSEUDONYM), DEFENDING SOVIET GAINS FROM DETENTE IN PRAVDA ON APRIL 8, SAYS THAT SOVIET SUPPORT FOR SUCH MOVEMENTS IS THE "DIALECTICAL LINK" BETWEEN THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND "INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIANISM", AND IS A BASIC SOVIET POLICY. LEBEDYEV ALSO SAYS THAT DETENTE IS A PROCESS DICTATED BY THE OBJECTIVE LAWS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, AND "IMPERIALISM IS NOT STRONG ENOUGH

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TO STOP IT OR TURN IT BACK".

6. E.I. POPOVA, WRITING IN THE APRIL USA INSTITUTE JOURNAL, STUDIES THE ATTITUDE OF THE SENATE TOWARD STRATEGIC WEAPON CONTROLS. SHE CONCLUDES THAT, REGARDLESS OF A SLIGHT MOVE TO THE RIGHT IN THE SENATE 1973-74, "OPPOSITION TO A MILITARIST POLICY REMAINS, AS BEFORE, SUBSTANTIAL", AND THAT THE GENERAL POLICY OF IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES TO RECEIVE "ACTIVE SUPPORT" IN A "SUBSTANTIAL PORTION" OF GOVERNING CIRCLES. SHE SAYS THAT AFTER VLADIVOSTOK SUPPORT FOR ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS BROADENED IN THE SENATE, THOUGH SHE WARNS THAT THE SUPPORT IS NOT FIRMLY BASED. SHE QUOTES SENATOR THURMOND THAT THE PROJECTED SALT TWO AGREEMENT WILL RECEIVE THE NECESSARY TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY.

7. OTHER ARTICLES ON THE U.S. IN THE "THICK JOURNALS" INCLUDE, AS EVIDENCE OF SOVIET INTENTION TO CONTINUE THE "IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE", A VERY NASTY PIECE IN MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN' (EH. KUZ'MIN) ON THE U.S.'S "ETERNAL PROBLEMS" WHICH CITES THE "CONTINUING DEGRADATION OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM," MISDEEDS OF THE CIA, "DE-HUMANIZATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL, LOSS OF MORAL VALUES, AND THE FALL OF BOURGEOIS CULTURE". OLYOSHCHUK (SEE PARA 5) IN THE IMEMO JOURNAL REVIEWS A BOOK ON THE U.S.'S FIRST TWO HUNDRED YEARS AND CONCLUDES THAT WE HAVE BADLY FAILED "THE TEST OF HISTORY." PRAVDA ON APRIL 10 ALSO RESURRECTED OLD AGITPROP HAND F. KONSTANTINOV TO CONTINUE THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE. KONSTANTINOV WARNS OF DANGERS OF FASCISM, WHICH IS INHERENT IN CAPITALISM, AS EVIDENCED BY THE INHUMANITIES OF VIETNAM. KONSTANTINOV ALSO SAYS THAT THE CORE OF ALL WESTERN MASS INFORMATION IS ANTI-COMMUNISM AND ANTI-SOVIETISM, AND WARNS THE VIGILANCE IF NECESSARY. STOESSEL

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